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SUBJECT: MILITARY IMPACT OF AN ARMS EMBARGO ON SOUTH
AFRICAN MILITARY CAPABILITIES

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF INR REPORT NO. 880, "MILITARY
IMPACT OF AN ARMS EMBARGO ON SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY CAPA-
BILITIES," DATED NOVEMBER 10, 1977.
2. THE RECENTLY APPROVED UN ARMS EMBARGO IS NOT LIKELY
TO AFFECT SIGNIFICANTLY SOUTH AFRICA'S MILITARY CAPABILITIES
FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. ARMAMENTS ACCUMULATED OVER
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THE YEARS THROUGH MASSIVE PURCHASES ABROAD AND FROM SOUTH
AFRICA'S OWN SMALL BUT DIVERSE ARMS INDUSTRY SHOULD BE
MORE THAN ADEQUATE TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY AGAINST GUERRILLA
OR INSURGENT WARFARE AND AGAINST AN EXTERNAL ATTACK BY
ANY COMBINATION OF BLACK AFRICAN STATES. HOWEVER, PRETORIA
WILL CONTINUE TO DEPEND LARGELY ON EXTERNAL SOURCES FOR
ADVANCED ARMAMENTS, AND ITS INABILITY TO PROCURE THIS
WEAPONRY AND ASSOCIATED TECHNOLOGY AND SPARE PARTS COULD
SERIOUSLY STRAIN SOUTH AFRICAN MILITARY CAPABILITIES IN
THE LONG RUN.

3. MASSIVE ARMS PURCHASES

4. SOUTH AFRICA RELIES MAINLY ON FOREIGN ARMS PROCUREMENT TO EQUIP AND MAINTAIN ITS ARMED FORCES. SINCE 1954, SOUTH AFRICA HAS SIGNED MORE THAN DOLS 1.5 BILLION IN ARMS AGREEMENTS WITH 13 NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, EXCLUDING THE US; THESE AGREEMENTS COVER HARDWARE, AMMUNITION, SPARE PARTS, CO-PRODUCTION AND LICENSING ARRANGEMENTS, AND TRAINING. A LITTLE MORE THAN DOLS 1.3 BILLION OF THIS AMOUNT WAS DELIVERED BY THE END OF JUNE 1977.

5. FRANCE. SOUTH AFRICA'S MAIN ARMS SUPPLIER SINCE THE EARLY 1960S HAS BEEN FRANCE--ALMOST DOLS 970 MILLION IN DELIVERIES LARGELY SINCE 1972. WHILE FRENCH ARMS EXPORTS TO SOUTH AFRICA HAVE BEEN DIVERSE, THEY HAVE CONCENTRATED ON PRETORIA'S AIR NEEDS--E.G., JET FIGHTERS, HELICOPTERS, MISSILES, ETC. PARIS' LARGEST SINGLE ARMS DEAL WITH PRETORIA WAS CONCLUDED IN 1972 FOR DOLS 480 MILLION COVERING THE DELIVERY, PARTIAL ASSEMBLY, AND EVENTUAL FULL PRODUCTION OF JET FIGHTER AIRCRAFT; ALL DELIVERIES UNDER THIS AGREEMENT APPARENTLY WERE COMPLETED BY MID-1977. THE LAST FRENCH ARMS DEAL WITH SOUTH AFRICA
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WAS CONCLUDED IN FEBRUARY 1976 FOR DOLS 60 MILLION WORTH OF PATROL ESCORTS; AS OF JUNE 1977, DELIVERIES ON THIS CONTRACT HAD NOT BEEN COMPLETED.

6. THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAS PUBLICLY INDICATED DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS THAT IT WOULD NO LONGER SELL ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA. HOWEVER, DELIVERIES APPARENTLY CONTINUED AND IT APPEARS THAT PARIS' RESTRICTIONS WERE NOT APPLIED TO EXISTING CONTRACTS. THERE ARE AT LEAST DOLS 120 MILLION IN FRENCH ARMS STILL TO BE DELIVERED ON THE BASIS OF EARLIER CONTRACTS, MAINLY TWO AGOSTA-CLASS SUBMARINES AND TWO NAVAL PATROL ESCORTS. PARIS NOW SEEMS PREPARED, HOWEVER, TO HALT FURTHER DELIVERIES. THIS WEEK THE DEFENSE MINISTRY ANNOUNCED THAT, IN COMPLIANCE WITH THE UN EMBARGO, FRANCE WOULD NOT TURN OVER THE NAVAL CRAFT TO PRETORIA. THE SAME POSITION WAS STATED PRIVATELY BY A FRENCH OFFICIAL AT THE UN.

7. UNITED KINGDOM. THE UK, SOUTH AFRICA'S LARGEST SUPPLIER UNTIL THE EARLY 1960S, HAS DELIVERED MORE THAN DOLS 290 MILLION IN ARMS AND RELATED SERVICES SINCE 1954. HOWEVER, THESE DELIVERIES HAVE AMOUNTED TO ONLY ABOUT DOLS 80 MILLION SINCE THE MID-1960S AND DROPPED FURTHER TO ABOUT DOLS 21 MILLION DURING THE 1970S. THE LAST MAJOR COMBAT EQUIPMENT DELIVERED BY LONDON WAS SIX CANBERRA MK-4 AND MK-2 BOMBERS IN 1969. THE MOST RECENT BRITISH ARMS DEAL WITH SOUTH AFRICA WAS

CONCLUDED IN 1971 FOR DOLS 4.8 MILLION WORTH OF RADAR UNITS. ALL BRITISH ARMS ACCORDS HAVE BEEN FULFILLED, THE LAST DELIVERIES (SIX RADAR UNITS) BEING IN 1975.

8. ITALY. ROME HAS DELIVERED SOME DOLS 87 MILLION IN ARMS AND TECHNOLOGY TO PRETORIA LARGELY DURING THE 1970S, IN EFFECT MAKING ITALY THE SECOND LARGEST CURRENTLY ACTIVE ARMS SUPPLIER TO SOUTH AFRICA. THE LARGEST SINGLE ITALIAN
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ARMS DEAL WITH SOUTH AFRICA WAS IN 1964 FOR SOME DOLS 23 MILLION IN LICENSING ARRANGEMENTS TO ASSEMBLE JET TRAINERS. ALL DELIVERIES UNDER THIS AND OTHER ACCORDS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED; THE LAST DELIVERIES WERE DURING THE FIRST HALF OF 1977 AND COVERED SOME DOLS 7 MILLION WORTH OF AAA GUNS AND RADAR.

9. ISRAEL. TEL AVIV IS SOUTH AFRICA'S NEXT LARGEST CURRENTLY ACTIVE ARMS SUPPLIER ALTHOUGH OUR INFORMATION IS INCOMPLETE. ISRAELI ARMS DELIVERIES THROUGH MID-1977 COME TO LESS THAN DOLS 1 MILLION IN TANK CHASSIS AND SMALL ARMS. IN 1975, TEL AVIV AGREED TO PROVIDE SIX RESHEF GUIDED-MISSILE BOATS VALUED AT DOLS 60 MILLION. THE ESTIMATED VALUE OF THIS AGREEMENT MAY BE CONSERVATIVE PARTICULARLY SINCE IT APPARENTLY DOES NOT INCLUDE THE COST OF THE ISRAELI GABRIEL MISSILE, THE STANDARD WEAPONS SYSTEM ON THE RESHEF. AT LEAST TWO OF THESE CRAFT ARE TO BE BUILT IN ISRAEL AND THE OTHERS ASSEMBLED IN SOUTH AFRICA. ONE BOAT ARRIVED IN SOUTH AFRICA ABOUT A MONTH AGO, AND ANOTHER MAY SOON BE READY FOR DELIVERY FROM ISRAEL. RECENTLY IMPROVED CONSTRUCTION FACILITIES AT DURBAN HAVE PERMITTED THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO BEGIN WORK ON AT LEAST ONE BOAT; ENGINES, GUIDANCE CONTROLS, AND THE GABRIEL MISSILE ITSELF, HOWEVER, MUST BE IMPORTED.

10. ISRAEL MIGHT RELUCTANTLY ACQUIESCE TO OUTSIDE PRESSURE TO ABIDE BY THE UN EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. A RECENT FOREIGN MINISTRY ANNOUNCEMENT, AS WELL AS PRIVATE ISRAELI STATEMENTS, SUGGESTS THAT ISRAEL WILL DO SO. HOWEVER, EVEN IF TEL AVIV WERE TO CEASE ANY FURTHER DELIVERIES OF THE RESHEF BOATS, IT IS NOT CLEAR WHETHER THE ISRAELI POSITION WOULD APPLY TO THE BOATS UNDER CONSTRUCTION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND TO THE EXPORT OF SUCH COMPONENTS AS
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ENGINES AND GUIDANCE CONTROL SYSTEMS.

11. PORTUGAL. LISBON HAS DELIVERED SOME DOLS 25 MILLION WORTH OF SMALL ARMS AMMUNITION BASED ON A DOLS 50 MILLION

ARMS DEAL CONCLUDED IN 1976. AN DOLS 18 MILLION AGREEMENT WITH LISBON IN 1974 COVERED THREE NAVAL PATROL ESCORTS. LITTLE HAS SINCE BEEN HEARD ABOUT THIS ACCORD, AND NO DELIVERIES APPARENTLY HAVE BEEN MADE.

12. OUTSTANDING DELIVERIES MINIMAL

13. OF THE 13 COUNTRIES SELLING ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA, ONLY FRANCE, ISRAEL, AND PORTUGAL STILL HAVE NOT COMPLETED ALL DELIVERIES UNDER EXISTING AGREEMENTS. EVEN IF THESE THREE COUNTRIES WERE TO ABIDE BY THE EMBARGO, THE FULL AMOUNT IN UNDELIVERED BUT CONTRACTED ITEMS FROM REGULAR OR GOVERNMENT SOURCES COMES TO ONLY ABOUT DOLS 225 MILLION MAINLY IN NAVAL CRAFT, TECHNOLOGY, AND AMMUNITION. AN ARMS EMBARGO, THEREFORE, WOULD HAVE LITTLE EFFECT ON SCHEDULED OR PIPE-LINE DELIVERIES; ITS MAIN IMPACT WOULD BE ON NEW SOUTH AFRICAN PURCHASES.

14. PRIVATE ARMS PEDDLING

15. INCREASINGLY CONCERNED OVER THE POSSIBILITY THAT ITS REGULAR (OR GOVERNMENT) SOURCES FOR ARMS MIGHT SOON DRY UP, SOUTH AFRICA HAS EXPANDED ITS CONTACTS WITH PRIVATE AND BLACK MARKET ARMS PEDDLERS PRIMARILY IN WESTERN EUROPE. WHILE FIRM INFORMATION IS NOT COMPLETE AS TO THE ACTUAL MAGNITUDE OF THIS EFFORT, IT DOES APPEAR THAT AT LEAST SIZABLE QUANTITIES OF SMALL ARMS AND AMMUNITION HAVE BEEN DELIVERED, WITH AT LEAST SOME OF IT BEING PASSED ON TO RHODESIA.

16. IN THE FACE OF AN EMBARGO, SOUTH AFRICA PROBABLY WOULD ATTEMPT TO ACQUIRE MORE ARMS FROM PRIVATE ENTREPRENEURS. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT LIKELY THAT PRETORIA COULD
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PROCURE HEAVY ARMAMENTS FROM THESE SOURCES OR FULFILL ANY APPRECIABLE PORTION OF ITS OVERALL ARMAMENT NEEDS.

17. DOMESTIC ARMS INDUSTRY EXPANDING

18. SOUTH AFRICA ALSO HAS FOCUSED ON EXPANDING ITS OWN ARMS INDUSTRY PARTLY IN ORDER TO OFFSET THE IMPACT OF ANY MAJOR REDUCTION IN ARMS IMPORTS. PRETORIA'S DEFENSE INDUSTRY, ALTHOUGH SMALL, IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY DIVERSE. FOR EXAMPLE,

(A)--SOUTH AFRICA HAS THE CAPABILITY TO PRODUCE MOST OF THE BASIC EQUIPMENT AND AMMUNITION REQUIRED BY ITS GROUND FORCES; THERE ARE SOME 34 COMPANIES IN SOUTH AFRICA PRODUCING ARMY MATERIEL. THE "RATEL" ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIER IS MANUFACTURED LOCALLY AND IS DEPLOYED IN ARMY UNITS, AND SOME KEY GROUND FORCE EQUIPMENT (E.G., THE AGING BRITISH CENTURION TANKS)

HAS BEEN REBUILT.

(B)--THE AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY IS GROWING. SINCE 1966, SOME 166 JET TRAINERS HAVE BEEN BUILT (UNDER ITALIAN LICENSE), OF WHICH ABOUT 100 HAVE BEEN PRODUCED MAINLY FROM LOCALLY MANUFACTURED COMPONENTS. AS PREVIOUSLY NOTED, FRENCH F-1 MIRAGE JET FIGHTERS ARE NOW BEING ASSEMBLED IN-COUNTRY.

(C)--AN INDIGENOUS MISSILE RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM HAS BEEN UNDER WAY FOR SOME TIME AND, AMONG OTHER THINGS, HAS LED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN AIR-TO-AIR MISSILE BASED ON THE US SIDEWINDER. ALTHOUGH LITTLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, SOUTH AFRICA IS PLANNING TO PRODUCE A VERSION (CACTUS) OF THE FRENCH CROTALE SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILE
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SYSTEM.

(D)--THE CAPACITY OF SOUTH AFRICAN NAVAL YARDS AND DOCKS IS BEING GREATLY INCREASED, AND THESE ARE CURRENTLY ABLE TO PERFORM MAJOR OVERHAULS AND REPAIRS ON VIRTUALLY ANY SHIP IN PRETORIA'S NAVY AND TO COMPLETE EXTENSIVE MODIFICATIONS. THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE PLANNING TO DEVELOP A CAPABILITY TO CONSTRUCT MAJOR NAVAL COMBATANTS ALTHOUGH ALMOST ALL NAVAL SHIPS CURRENTLY IN USE WERE PURCHASED ABROAD. AS NOTED EARLIER, PARTS OF THE ISRAELI RESHEF MISSILE BOAT ARE BEING CONSTRUCTED LOCALLY.

19. SELF-SUFFICIENCY: YES AND NO

20. GIVEN THE CHARACTER AND SCOPE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S LIMITED ARMS INDUSTRY AND STOCKPILES OF ARMAMENTS ACCUMULATED OVER THE PAST DECADE, PRETORIA SEEMS TO BE RELATIVELY SELF-SUFFICIENT IN THE TYPE OF WEAPONS SYSTEMS THAT WOULD BE ESSENTIAL TO COPE WITH THE MORE LIKELY MILITARY CONTINGENCIES--GUERRILLA OR INSURGENT WARFARE. THE IMPACT OF THE UN EMBARGO ON SOUTH AFRICA'S CAPABILITIES TO MEET THESE CONTINGENCIES IS NOT LIKELY TO BE SIGNIFICANT FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. MOREOVER, PRETORIA SHOULD CONTINUE TO BE ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST AN EXTERNAL ATTACK BY ANY COMBINATION OF BLACK AFRICAN STATES AND EVEN LAUNCH LIMITED OFFENSIVE CROSS-BORDER OPERATIONS.

21. OVER THE LONG RUN, HOWEVER, SOUTH AFRICA'S ABILITY TO WAGE CONVENTIONAL WAR, RELYING ON THE INCREASED USE OF SUCH ADVANCED WEAPONRY AS JET AIRCRAFT, MISSILES, TANKS, AND NAVAL CRAFT, WOULD BECOME SERIOUSLY STRAINED. THE MAIN CRUNCH WOULD BE FELT FIRST IN SPARE PARTS AND MAJOR COMPONENTS TO MAINTAIN SUCH ARMAMENTS OR TO ASSEMBLE NEW REPLACEMENTS. VANCE

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